

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 258134

41

ORIGIN INR-05

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 RSC-01 /019 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RES:FTUMMINIA  
APPROVED BY INR/DDR:MPACKMAN  
EUR/RPM:RFROWICK  
INR/RES:KKERST

----- 088902

R 221827Z NOV 74  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO OIC/PTC  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 258134

PASS FOLLOWING VIA THE NATO-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM  
RR RFWFA RFWFB RFWFD RFWFE RFWF F RFWFG RFWFH RFWFI RFWFK  
RFWFL RFWFM RFWFN RFWFO RFWFP RFWFQ RFWFR RFWFZ  
ZNY CCCCC  
221827Z NOV 74  
FROM WASHINGTON  
TO AIG 6006, 6007  
B T  
NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

POLITICAL ANALYSIS: OUTLOOK ON ROMANIA'S ELEVENTH PARTY  
CONGRESS

1. WITH THE "ELECTION" OF CONGRESS DELEGATES FROM THE  
NATION'S COUNTIES AND MUNICIPALITIES, THE FINAL STAGES OF  
CONVENING THE ELEVENTH ROMANIAN PARTY CONGRESS ON NOVEM-  
BER 25 ARE UNDERWAY. (ELECTIONS FOR THIS CONGRESS WERE  
THEORETICALLY SOMEWHAT MORE "DEMOCRATIC" THAN FOR PAST  
CONGRESSES IN THAT MULTIPLE CANDIDATES WERE PERMITTED  
THROUGHOUT THE SELECTION PROCESS. IT IS LIKELY, HOWEVER,  
THAT THOSE FINALLY SELECTED WERE THE CHOICE OF THE CENTRAL  
PARTY APPARATUS IN BUCHAREST.)

2. THE CONGRESS WILL BE PRESIDED OVER BY CEAUSESCU IN HIS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 258134

ROLE OF SECRETARY GENERAL (HE IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE

REPUBLIC AND PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE). IT WILL

BE A VEHICLE NOT ONLY FOR CONFIRMING HIM AS THE UNDISPUTED LEADER OF ROMANIA BUT ALSO FOR ENSHRINING HIM AS A LEADING THEORETICIAN OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

3. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE CONGRESS TO PROMULGATE ANY NEW AND DRAMATIC POLICIES. RATHER, AS ROMANIAN MEDIA HAVE BEEN HINTING, WE FORESEE IT PRIMARILY AS A STAGE SETTING FOR CEAUSESCU'S APOTHEOSIS.

4. THE MAIN SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION AT THE CONGRESS WILL BE:

(A)--THE DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM, PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER 1, WHICH PROJECTS PARTY AND STATE ACTIVITIES THROUGH 1990-95;

(B)--THE PARTY CONGRESS THESES, WHICH REPEAT IN A SHORTER, MORE DIGESTIBLE, FORMAT THE MAIN LINES OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM AND WILL SERVE AS THE BASIC WORKING TOOL FOR THE CONGRESS;

(C)--RESULTS ACHIEVED IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS SINCE THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS IN AUGUST 1969; AND

(D)--ECONOMIC PLAN DIRECTIVES FOR 1975-80.

5. IN ADDITION, THE CONGRESS CAN BE EXPECTED TO RESTRUCTURE THE PARTY HIERARCHY, REPLACING AS MUCH AS A THIRD OF THE TOP ECHELON, MOST LIKELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WISHES OF PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY CEAUSESCU. THESE PERSONNEL CHANGES ARE PROBABLE IN VIEW OF THE GROWTH OF THE CEAUSESCU "PERSONALITY CULT," WHICH, DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS, HAS REACHED PROPORTIONS REMINISCENT OF THE STALINIST ERA. THEY WOULD ALSO BE A LOGICAL FOLLOW-UP TO THE LEADERSHIP CHANGES AT THE MARCH 1974 PLENUM OF THE ROMANIAN PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

6. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ALTERATIONS IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY ARE LIKELY TO BE:  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 258134

(A)--REVAMPING THE STANDING BUREAU BY REASSIGNING FUNCTIONAL DUTIES;

(B)--REFURBISHING THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE--THE POLICY-MAKING BODY OF THE PARTY (IT HAS NO STRUCTURAL EQUIVALENT IN OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES);

(C)--CREATING CLOSER PARALLEL AGENCIES IN THE PARTY AND STATE TO IMPROVE COORDINATION AND TO INSURE THAT PARTY DECISIONS ARE EXECUTED MORE EFFECTIVELY AND WITHOUT UNDUE DELAY;

(D)--INCREASING CENTRALIZATION AND CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION TO OVERCOME LAGS IN THE ECONOMY;

(E)--REALLOCATING DUTIES IN THE PARTY SECRETARIAT.

7. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT CEAUSESCU WILL USE THE CONGRESS TO PRESS ROMANIA'S DIFFERENCES WITH THE USSR. INSTEAD, HE WILL PROBABLY SEEK TO PRESENT A TONE OF COMPROMISE AND CONCILIATION.

8. THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE USSR AND THE PRC, WILL BE OF CONSIDERABLE INTEREST. IN 1969 THE LEVEL WAS RATHER LOW (IN COMPARISON WITH THE NINTH CONGRESS OF 1964), BUT THIS WAS VIEWED AS A NEGATIVE SOVIET REACTION TO PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO BUCHAREST IN THE SUMMER OF 1969. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT HIGH-RANKING SOVIET AND CHINESE OFFICIALS ATTENDED THE AUGUST 23, 1974, CELEBRATIONS OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF ROMANIA'S LIBERATION. INGERSOLL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PARTY ELECTIONS, PARTY MEETINGS, COMMUNISTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 NOV 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE258134  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** FTUMMINIA  
**Enclosure:** DG ALTERED  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740340-0910  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19741119/aaaaaprt.tel  
**Line Count:** 138  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN INR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 04 JUN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <04 JUN 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <24 MAR 2003 by KelleyW0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ASSESSMENT OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY MEETINGS AND ELECTIONS  
**TAGS:** PINT, RO  
**To:** OIC/PTC  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005